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households where there are no adult females or older sister, a girl of this age may have considerable responsibility for a younger brother or sister. Even a very small girl is extremely proud of this assignment, for she is thereby first placed in a position of authority. She spends much time looking after him at home and must carry him on her hip when she plays away from the house, but the little girl seldom resents the comparative restriction of her movements or the fact that, if she does not indulge the baby, his howls will bring his mother's interference and rebuke. Resentment toward the mother is forestalled by the young girl's claim to indulgence from an older child and by right of appeal to her mother if it is not granted.

It is clear that under this system no one child can be the object of favoritism throughout life.[3] And, yet, identical behavior toward each child at a given time is likewise impossible, since the treatment of an individual is always relative to his age position. No question of unfairness or favoritism is raised either by parents or by children.

GOING TO SCHOOL

We have seen that the Papago child is at liberty to make many decisions for himself which, in white society, ordinarily are in the province of parents. One of these decisions is whether he will go to school or not.[4] In reaching a conclusion, he probably has certain conflicts to resolve: he is likely to be shy of white people, an attitude which may be reinforced by distrust if his family belongs to a conservative group; on the other hand, older children tell him that going to school is fun because it gives opportunity for knowing children from other villages and for being away from one's own home and the work to be done there; further, they say, white people are novel and interesting creatures, even if a little fearful. The child usually makes up his mind without pressure from his family. In the eastern districts most young children now expect to go to school, and their parents encourage them to do so, and in the West an increasing number of small children are enrolled.

Even after he has decided to go, the child is often under no pressure from his family to attend regularly (see chap. vii). If he goes to school in another village, he travels by bus, the driver of which acts as truant officer. Many drivers coax the children to attend every day and conscientiously report reasons for absence, but they never threaten or command a child.

3. The few cases of deliberate favoritism which appear are apparently due to special circumstances. The writer observed only two. In both cases the favored child was an only son and the youngest child. Both mothers had previously lost sons, and their devotion seemed to be centered in the surviving one.

4. The field work on which this study is based was done before the tribal council made school attendance compulsory (see chap. vii).

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can indeed be considered inadequate, especially for children, who require more high-grade proteins and more vitamins than adults. 146

Another factor which may aggravate the conditions of undernourishment and malnutrition produced by the limitations of Papago diet is perhaps to be found in the general attitude of adult Papago toward their children. Recognition of the difference between the needs and reactions of the child and the adult, as far as it is determined by such factors as the physiological process of growth, does not seem to be part of the Papago pattern of training and guidance of children. This attitude seems to be fundamentally different from that predominant in modern white civilization, where a child is a being in development, an organism that has not reached its full strength and maturity and must be guided toward this goal even against its will. A child who prefers pickles to spinach will nevertheless have to eat more spinach. In front of her son who is crying angrily because he had to leave a toy and eat his oatmeal, the white mother stands serene and without feelings of guilt, convinced that she is acting for the child's own good. 146 858

The Papago do not ignore the facts of physiological maturity or immaturity. But, as in the art of the Middle Ages, where the child represented in his mother's lap looks like a miniature grown-up, the Papago child seems to be considered a small-sized man or woman, sexually immature but otherwise organically undifferentiated from the fully grown.

This matter will be dealt with at greater length in later chapters; here we are interested only in the effect of this attitude upon the children's health. The little men and women enjoy great freedom as to what and how much food they choose to eat, almost as soon as they are weaned from their mothers' breasts. Unwillingness to eat, a preference for a certain dish, or a refusal of others is to a great extent respected and indulged. In many cases this practice means a further restriction or increased imbalance of Papago diet—a restriction which favors undernourishment and malnutrition. In small children it often causes serious digestive disorders which play a considerable role in the high infant mortality (estimated at 258 per 1,000 live births as contrasted with 40.4 per 1,000 live births for the country as a whole). The right of self-determination seems to go still further. As soon as children are able to express their wishes, they are asked whether or not they desire medical treatment when they are ill. If they refuse to submit to treatment in spite of attempts at friendly persuasion, the matter is usually dropped, however grave and dangerous the illness. Probably there is a direct connection between this attitude and Papago magic beliefs and fear of the dead. Its influence upon the children's gen- [165]

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858 eral health, upon mortality and the spreading of diseases, should not be underestimated.

With these considerations we have approached an area where Papago personality and psychological reactions intimately merge with and influence the state of the physiological organism. We shall now proceed to analyze the children's attitudes and responses toward their human and nonhuman environment. Then we may understand more fully the problems of physical health as they exist for the Papago and the medical problems and responsibilities which arise for the white administrators of this minority group.

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157 177 Thus, all the new representatives of authority are or may become serious rivals of the family. Offering aims and ideals different from or even contradictory to those of Papago society and culture, they are not, at least at present, models whose authoritative position may be aspired to or achieved by any appreciable number of the Papago. This factor considerably strengthens the impression that these representatives are clearly and hopelessly superimposed from outside.

157 177 858 4. Old Papago institutions are being threatened not only by new authorities which white culture has introduced but also by changes in the position of Papago children and young people brought about by the introduction of white institutions and practices. Education of children in schools rather than in homes is increasingly breaking the continuity of experience and common sharing between adults and children. It implies a new concept of childhood as a prolonged, and at the same time sharply delimited, period of preparation for adulthood. In addition to segregating children from adults over many hours of the day or months of the year, the school teaches skills such as arithmetic and a knowledge of English, which have little bearing on the common life of the Papago but are all-important for dealing with the alien culture. Thus the school experience in itself and the content of teaching tend to produce a cleavage between children and adults.

The relation of young adults to their elders is also being changed by what they have learned in school. Young people with initiative and some knowledge of the language and customs of whites are rapidly advancing to positions of importance in tribal matters. Furthermore, many of the young men and women seek wage jobs which make them independent of the family, and all wage-earners are paid on the basis of individual performance rather than for the work of a group. Both the rapidity of "political" advancement and competitive wage-earning weaken the Papago principles of gradual maturation into privileges and position and of the distribution of roles according to the physiological needs and interests of different age groups.

157 177 813 5. Another concept deeply rooted in Papago culture is belief in supernatural influences, which projects intention into coincidence, correlates the unrelated, removes the barriers of space and time, and humanizes nonhuman objects and manifestations. Against this belief is now placed the Western concept of cause and effect which, on the one hand, relieves man from being simultaneously the fear-stricken victim and the unlimited master of the supernatural and, on the other hand, limits and strengthens the immediate efficiency of his power of action.

000 specifically responsible for placing farm workers, and some Papagos already take advantage of its services. If necessary, the ASES might hire, or share with the Papago Council the salary of (as does the Arizona Livestock Sanitary Board in the case of a Livestock Inspector) a Papago to contact the Desert People on the reserves and channel them through the ASES offices in cotton growing areas.

Whether placement and policing were carried out by a Papago Labor Service independently, or through the ASES, this writer is quite sure that formalizing the employment of Papago farm laborers would kick back. Probably somewhat fewer of the Desert People could be placed satisfactorily by a Labor Service than find jobs for themselves.

[181] [156] [858] There are a number of reasons for this prediction. One is the individualism of the Desert People. They prefer to make their own choices without interferance from outside authority--which a labor service would be. Papagos are trained from babyhood to decide for themselves. "Even little children may be consulted in things which concern them directly, and a child's decision as to whether he wishes to go to school or to the hospital is seldom questioned."[1] In this type of society, a formal labor service would likely be ignored by most people. However, the Desert People at the same time have a great admiration for Anglo techniques, and a willingness to experiment with same--so they might try out a Labor Service. But it would have to prove immediately beneficial to them to attract repeaters.

46 This it might not do, because of the nature of the preference Anglo farmers express for Papago employees. One Marana cotton grower likes Papago pickers because they are "less quarrelsome" than other harvest hands. Another prefers them because they are "not trying to mess up. They are not crooked," meaning they don't weight their sacks with rocks and clods. A Pinal county grower hires Papagos because they "give no trouble."

That this ability of the Desert People to get along well with their employers is a prime factor in the preference shown for them is indicated by the fact that most of their employers think them slow pickers. Three-fourths

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[1] Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky, 1949, p. 58.